

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 00797 01 OF 02 172024Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 OMB-01 HA-05
/098 W

-----033683 172241Z /72

P R 171600Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6797
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 0797

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: XF, AG, UR
SUBJECT: BOUMEDEINE VISIT TO USSR JANUARY 12-14

REF: MOSCOW 0644 NOTAL#

SUMMARY: THE SOVIETS AND BOUMEDIENE MANAGED TO PAPER OVER
THEIR DIFFERENCES ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES AND TO GET
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 00797 01 OF 02 172024Z

QUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR EACH OTHER'S POLICIES IN OTHER AREAS
OF CONCERN, WESTERN SAHARA AND THE HORN OF AFRICA. THE
RESULT SHOWS IN A DELICATELY CRAFTED COMMUNIQUE WHICH
SIDESTEPS THE DIFFERENCES AND GIVES BOTH SIDES A DOCUMENT
TO WHICH THEY CAN REFER IN FUTURE MONTHS. UNINTENTIONALLY,
AND UNAVOIDABLY, IT, HOWEVER, DEMONSTRATES THE LACK OF
A UNIFIED APPROACH BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THEIR

ARAB FRIENDS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE "WORKING VISIT" OF ALGERIAN PRESIDENT BOUMEDEINE JAN 12-14 IS BEING PLAYED HERE AS A SUCCESSFUL CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND ANOTHER OF THEIR MID-EAST ARAB PARTNERS. WITH THE ALGERIAN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW VIRTUALLY INCOMMUNICADO SINCE THE START OF THE VISIT, EVEN FOR THEIR USUAL ARAB AND WESTERN DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS, WE ARE FORCED FOR NOW TO RELY FOR OUR ANALYSIS ON EXEGESIS OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE (WE ASSUME DEPARTMENT AND ADDRESSEES HAVE FULL TASS/FBIS TEXT). WE FIND THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF INTEREST.

--THE DOCUMENT STRIKES US AS A VERY CAREFULLY CRAFTED COMPROMISE IN WHICH THE SOVIETS TRADED QUALIFIED SUPPORT OF ALGERIAN POLICIES IN THE WESTERN SAHARA FOR THE EQUALLY QUALIFIED ALGERIAN SUPPORT OF SOVIET POLICIES IN THE HORN. THE MID-EAST SECTION, CENTRAL TO THE DOCUMENT, WAS AN ONLY PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO BRIDGE THE SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND ALGERIA. THE RESULT WAS A SERIES OF FORMULATIONS WHICH WERE SUBSTANTIALLY MORE REJECTIONIST THAN WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE USED IN THE PAST BUT WERE STILL WEAKER THAN THE TRIPOLI CONFERENCE LANGUAGE.

--THE MOST NOTABLE POINT ON THE MIDDLE EAST IS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 00797 01 OF 02 172024Z

THE LACK OF ANY MENTION OF GENEVA AND THE MEPC WHICH THE ALGERIANS DO NOT SUPPORT. HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS DID GET A REFERENCE TO THE NEED FOR A "JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL INTERESTED SIDES INCLUDING THE PLO." THIS GIVES THE SOVIETS ENOUGH TO ASSERT THAT THE REFERENCE AMOUNTS TO A DESCRIPTION, AS THEY UNDERSTAND IT, OF THE MEPC. IT ALSO CONSTITUTES ALGERIAN ACCEPTANCE OF A POLITICAL SOLUTION.

--THE FOUR PRINCIPLES TO WHICH THE SOVIETS ARE SO ATTACHED (WITHDRAWAL, SECURE BORDERS, PALESTINIAN RIGHTS, AND ENDING THE STATE OF WAR) WERE REDUCED TO ONLY TWO (WITHDRAWAL AND PALESTINIAN RIGHTS) AND THESE WERE WORDED MORE STRONGLY THAN THE SOVIET'S USUAL FORMULATION. THE WITHDRAWAL, ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE, MUST BE "IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE" AND THE PALESTINIAN RIGHTS HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED IN TERMS OF THEIR "RIGHT TO THE CREATION OF THEIR OWN STATE" LEAVING OUT THE USUAL SOVIET REFERENCE TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

--THERE IS A BALANCE ON THE ONE HAND OF PRAISE FOR THE SOVIETS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ("THE NECESSITY

TO STRENGTHEN ARAB COUNTRIES' RELATIONS WITH THE
SOVIET UNION . . . WHICH CONSTANTLY RENDERS HELP AND
SUPPORT TO MIDDLE EAST STATES IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE
AGAINST ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM"), AND ON THE OTHER
HAND FOR THE ALGERIANS AND THEIR "IMPORTANT ROLE . . .
IN THE STRUGGLE TO RALLY PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF THE
ARAB WORLD ON AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST BASIS."

NOTE BY OC/T: #REFTEL BELIEVED TO BE INCORRECT.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 00797 02 OF 02 172220Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 OMB-01 HA-05
/098 W
-----034790 172240Z /72

P R 171600Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6798
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 0797

--THE TREATMENT OF EGYPT IS HARSH FOR ITS
"SPLITIST ACTIONS" BUT IT IS LESS CONDEMNATORY OF
SADAT PERSONALLY THAN WAS KOSYGIN IN HIS TOAST OF
JANUARY 12. THIS PROBABLY REFLECTS THE INTEREST IN
BOTH SIDES IN TONING DOWN THE LANGUAGE IN THIS FORMAL

COMMUNIQUE BY REFRAINING FROM A DIRECT ATTACK ON A
THIRD-COUNTRY HEAD OF STATE.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 00797 02 OF 02 172220Z

2. THE TWO PARTNERS THEN FOCUSED THEIR RESPECTIVE
ATTENTIONS ON GETTING THE SUPPORT OF THE OTHER IN AN
AREA OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO EACH OF THEM, THE
WESTERN SAHARA AND THE HORN OF AFRICA.

--THE SOVIETS FOR THE FIRST TIME HAVE GIVEN QUALIFIED
SUPPORT FOR ALGERIAN POLICIES IN THE WESTERN
SAHARA BY ENDORSING THE "EARLIEST PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT" THROUGH " THE EXERCISE OF THE PRINCIPLE
OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY."

--THE ALGERIANS IN RETURN HAVE GIVEN QUALIFIED
ENDOUSEMENT OF THE SOVIET LINE ON THE HORN BY
AGREEING TO LANGUAGE WHICH STRESSES THE "RESPECT FOR
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTER-
FERENCE" IN THE HORN. (ONE CANNOT BUT NOTE THE
SELECTIVITY IN THE CHOICE OF "PRINCIPLES" SINCE
"TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY" IN THE SAHARA AND "SELF-
DETERMINATION" IN THE HORN WOULD RESULT IN SUBSTANTIALLY
DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS.)

--THUS THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT EXPLICITLY SUPPORTED
THE POLISARIO OR CONDEMNED MAURITANIA AND MOROCCO,
AND THE ALGERIANS HAVE NOT EXPLICITLY SUPPORTED
ETHIOPIA OR CONDEMNED SOMALIA. BUT FOR THE PRESENT EACH
SIDE HAS GOTTEN THE OTHER TO TAKE THAT ALL IMPORTANT
FIRST STEP TOWARDS GREATER SUPPORT FOR THE OTHER'S
POSITION.

3. DESPITE MOST INDICATIONS THAT BILATERAL ISSUES
TOOK MUCH OF THE TIME OF THE INTERLOCUTORS (REFTEL),
THERE IS LITTLE SPECIFICALLY SAID ABOUT BILATERAL
ISSUES IN THE COMMUNIQUE. THE REFERENCES TO
STRENGTHENING COOPERATION IN "ALL FIELDS" AND TO DEEPENING
FRIENDSHIP "IN EVERY WAY" MAY WELL BE VEILED INDICATIONS
THAT MILITARY ASSISTANCE WAS A MAJOR TOPIC
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 00797 02 OF 02 172220Z

OF CONVERSATION AS HAS BEEN RUMORED IN DIPLOMATIC
CIRCLES IN MOSCOW BUT WE HAVE NO CONCRETE INDICATIONS
THAT THIS IS THE CASE.

4. OUR FRENCH COLEAGUES TELL US THAT THEY ARE SURE THAT THE
VISIT WAS NOT A LAST MINUTE ADD-ON TO THE BOUMEDIENE TRIP

TO YUGOSLAVIA EVEN THOUGH IT WAS NOT ANNOUNCED ORIGINALLY AS PART
OF THE YUGOSLAVIA TRIP. SOVIET MFA OFFICIALS HINTED TO THE
FRENCH EARLIER THIS MONTH ABOUT A "SURPRISE" IN SOVIET-AFRICAN
AFFAIRS SOON. THE FRENCH CONSIDER THE BOUMEDIENE VISIT TO HAVE
BEEN THE "SURPRISE."
MATLOCK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, CHIEF OF STATE VISITS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MOSCOW00797
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780025-0609
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780155/aaaabulm.tel
Line Count: 230
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: f4cdcfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 MOSCOW 644
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3763078
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BOUMEDEINE VISIT TO USSR JANUARY 12-14
TAGS: OVIP, PGOV, XF, AG, UR, (BOUMEDIENE, HOUARI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f4cdcfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014